

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

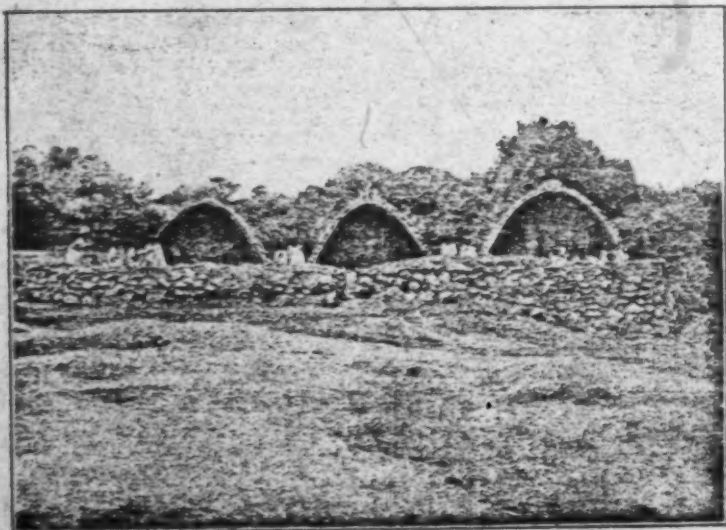


FIG. 5.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADR, SHOWING TWO DAIRIES IN THE FOREGROUND AND THREE HOUSES IN THE BACKGROUND.

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Some may not be traversed by women. When I first visited the village of Taradr, nearly the whole population of the village met me at the spot where the path to the village leaves the road. We all went along together till I suddenly found that I was walking with the men and boys only, while the women and girls were following another path. We were going by the way over which the sacred buffaloes travel

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FIG. 6.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADE, SHOWING THE HOUSES SURROUNDED BY A WALL, IN WHICH THERE IS ONE OPENING IN THE MIDDLE.

when leaving or approaching the village, and the women might not tread this path, but had another appointed way by which they were to reach their home.

Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are especially important. One, the *punetkalvol*, is the path by which the dairyman goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the *majvatitthkalvol*, the path which the women must use when they go to the dairy to receive buttermilk (*maj*) from the dairyman. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times when they receive buttermilk given

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211 out by the dairyman, and when going for this purpose they
363 must keep to the *majvatitthkalvol*. This path is sometimes
562 indicated by a stone, the *majvatitthkars*, and the spot where
the women stand to receive the buttermilk is called the
majvatvaiidrñ.

At many villages there are other stones which have definite



FIG. 7.—THE CHIEF HOUSE OF THE VILLAGE OF KIUDK.

names and mark the sites where certain ceremonial functions are performed.

342 The house is called *ars*, and is of the kind shown in Fig. 7. It is shaped like half a barrel, with the barrel-like roof and sides projecting for a considerable distance beyond the front partition containing the door. The size of the hut is by no means constant; in some cases it is sufficiently roomy to enable people to move about with ease and comfort, while in others it is so small that it is unbearably stuffy, and the smoke from the fire, which is always burning, makes it difficult to believe that anyone can long live in it. The entrance to

342 the hut is always very small, and is closed by a door which slides over the opening on its inner side.

Some houses are much longer than others, with a door at each end and a central partition, so as to form a double hut which is called *epotirikhthars*, i.e., "both-ways-turned house." This kind of hut did not seem to be common, and I only saw three or four examples, of which one is shown in Fig. 8.

A much more common kind of double hut is called *merkalars*, i.e., "other-side house," in which the back part of the hut is partitioned off, with a door at one side.

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FIG. 8.—THE VILLAGE OF PEIVÖRS, SHOWING A DOUBLE HUT (IN THE BACKGROUND). THE TWO BUILDINGS ON THE LEFT ARE DAIRIES, AND THE STRUCTURE IN THE CENTRE IS A CALF-HOUSE.

166 In some Toda villages there may now be found huts of the
177 same kind as those of the Badagas. In the cases in which I
342 found such huts, I was told that they had been built by Badagas
who had lived in the villages while the Toda occupants were
away. Todas may also occasionally be found living away
from their own villages, usually near tea plantations. They
do this because there is a demand for buffalo manure at the
plantations, and when living in this way they not uncommonly
use huts of the Badaga pattern.

342 In front of the hut on either side of the door there are
352 usually raised seats called *kwottün*, and there are similar

342 raised portions, called *tün*, within the huts on which the people
 352 sleep. The floor of the hut is divided into two parts, which
 are marked off from one another by the hole in which grain
 is pounded by the women. The part in front of this is often
 used for churning, and with this part women have nothing
 to do, their operations being limited to the hinder part.

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FIG. 9.—A TODA MAN, SIRIAR (20), WITH HIS WIFE AND CHILD, SHOWING
 THE ORDINARY METHOD OF WEARING THE 'PUTKULI.'

There is little difference between the dress of men and women. Each wears a mantle called the *putkuli*, which is worn thrown round the shoulders without any fastening. Under it is worn a loin-cloth called *tadrp*, and the men also wear a perineal band called *kuvn*, corresponding to the Hindu *languti*. The *kuvn* is kept in position by a string round the waist called *pennar*, a string which, we shall see later, is of considerable ceremonial importance.

There are various ways of wearing the cloak which will be

The *Todas* have two kinds of fireplace, the *waskal*, consisting of three stones, and the *kudrvars*, with four stones. 354
The former is found in the dwelling-hut, in the *wursuli*, and in the *ti* dairy, and the latter in the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*; but I did not discover why the more sacred dairies should have the same kind of fireplace as the house. According to one account *waskal* is the name used by the *Teivaliol* and *kudrvars* by the *Tartharol*, and it may be that this is the explanation of the apparent anomaly.

THE HOUSE

Various parts of the house have definite names, and may 342
only be used for certain purposes. As we have already seen, 352
there are raised seats both outside and inside the house, the latter being used as beds. These are made of earth, the upper surface of which is made level, and the whole is usually well coated with a layer of dried buffalo-dung, sometimes nearly half an inch thick. The general name for these raised parts is *tün*, the seats outside the building on either side of the door being called *kwottün*, while the bed on the right side of the interior is the *meitün*, and that on the left side the *kitün*. The part of the hut where the bed or beds stand is called the *idrtul*.

The floor is called *kuter*, and this is divided into two parts by the hole in which the women pound the grain. The part near the door is called *kikuter*, and it is in this part only that dairy operations may be carried on. The part behind the pounding hole is especially assigned to the women and is called *meilkuter*.¹

The end wall, on which various objects, such as sticks, are kept is called *tashien*, and the fireplace, usually on one side, is called *waskal*. The part above the fireplace where firewood is kept is called *waskalkübi*, and the place of the cooking vessels is called *adikudi*. The western side of the hut is 342
sometimes called the *meilmahol*, and the eastern side the

¹ It might have been expected that the part of the floor near the door used for the dairy operations would be the *meilkuter*, but it is not so. *Meil* also means 'west' and the explanation may be connected with this.

342 *kimakol*, but I do not know if this implies any rule as to the orientation of the houses.

341 The method of building is illustrated by Fig. 66, which shows a hut only partially built. Certain Todas have special reputations as architects, and the most famous of these at the present time is Kijievan (50), who superintended the building of the hut at Kiudr shown in Fig. 7, the most spacious and artistic of the strictly Toda dwellings which I saw on the



FIG. 66.—TO SHOW A STAGE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A HUT.

hills. Especial care is often taken with the arrangement of the rattan on the front of the hut, which is shown in Fig. 20. This is a picture of a dairy, but it shows the arrangement which is also found in the best of the houses.

343 The hut used for the seclusion of women before and after childbirth is a rough structure of wood and thatch, but its name, *pushars*, means "mud house," which suggests that huts made of earth may at one time have been used by the Todas.

177 In the ordinary life of the people there is more evidence of
 342 influence. At many Toda villages there may now be seen
 621 huts like those of the Badagas which usually result from the
 practice of allowing Badagas to occupy a Toda village when
 the proper occupants have gone elsewhere. The visitors
 build a hut of their own kind in which to live, and sometimes
 the Todas on their return inhabit this hut, though in general
 they only use it as an appanage to the hut of the proper
 kind.

The fact that the Badagas will thus come to live at a Toda
 village seems to show that when the Todas move from one
 place to another the pasturage is not necessarily exhausted,
 for the Badagas would not bring their buffaloes in this case.
 It seems that the grazing-grounds for the Badaga buffaloes
 are not very extensive, and that the Badagas are always
 glad to use the more extensive pasturage of the Todas,
 even when the grass has been partly eaten off.

431 Transactions in buffaloes between Todas and Badagas
 437 seem now to be fairly frequent. I often heard of a buffalo as
 having been received from the Badagas, but I have no very
 definite information as to the reasons for the transference. On
 the occasion of the ceremony of the ear-piercing of Tikievan's
 sons (p. 336), Tikievan received a present of two buffaloes
 from the Badaga *monegar* of Tuneri, and this present was said
 to be in return for things which Tikievan had previously
 given to the *monegar*, but I did not learn the exact nature
 of this gift.

177 In two departments there is very clear evidence of Badaga
 influence. The astronomical ideas of the Todas are almost
 certainly borrowed from their neighbours (see Chap. XXIV),
 and in the closely allied practical question of the calendar I
 think Badaga influence may be suspected.

177 The other department is medicine. There is no special
 278 reason to suppose that the magical remedies of the *u'kòren*
 (Chap. XII) have been borrowed from the Badagas, but the
 more strictly medical remedies used by the Todas are largely
 borrowed, the actual leaves or other substances employed
 762 being obtained from the Badagas. The practice of suicide by
 opium, said to be very prevalent among the Badagas, has, in

618 would thus be twelve *pōlm*. This is not consistent with the
 621 information given in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony
 (see p. 169), from which it appears that there are fifteen
 heads of families in the Kuudrol. It may be that the *pōlm*
 and family do not correspond with one another, or there may
 be some other explanation of the discrepancy.

The following are the chief villages of the Kuudrol :—

Kuudr (Kundakodumand). This is a large village with
 substantial huts in the Tamil style which have been built by
 Kuriolv. There is a large dairy, the *tudrpali*, and a smaller
 dairy, the *kidpali*, in front of it, with two buffalo enclosures
 (*tu*), one apparently for each dairy. In the large *tu* there are
 three stones called *keinkars*, *tashtikars* and *mutchudkars*, all
 of ceremonial importance (see p. 169). Growing in one side
 of the *tu* there is a tree called *teikhuwadiki*, under which the
mu is buried.

[312] As usual, water is taken from two sources, and at Kuudr
 that used for sacred purposes is drawn from a spring, called
kisnir. The origin of this spring has been already given in
 connexion with the prayer of Kuudr, in which this and other
 events in the history of the village are commemorated. The
 special relations between Kuudr and Odr have been already
 considered in the account of the latter village.

234 *Kiudr* (Kengodumand). This village has a somewhat
 621 anomalous position in that, though not the chief village of its
 clan from the social point of view, it is in many ways more
 778 sacred than Kuudr.

● [342] It is a very picturesque village, shown in Fig. 7, in
 which there are two dwelling-huts. That shown in the figure
 is one of the largest and best constructed of existing Toda
 huts, having been rebuilt recently under the direction of
 Kijievan (50), who has a special reputation as an architect.
 It was at this village that a pregnant woman was not allowed
 to come to the hut, but had to remain at some little distance,
 and the sacredness of the hut is also shown by the fact
 that the prayer of this village provides the only instance in
 which the *kwarsam* of a hut occurs.

The dairy is situated at some little distance from the huts,
 quite out of sight of people at the latter. On going from

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Toda

Frontispiece

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the protection of secluded woods, or migrate like the Todas for the period of the monsoon season.

It is also a Toda custom to vacate a house, or even the entire village, for a certain limited period, if one of their number should have died, or sickness be rife amongst the community or attack their cattle.

000 In these matters they follow the dictates of sorrow, of prudence, or of necessity, much as we do under very similar circumstances. We too, who can afford the luxury, have a town as well as a country house; take trips to the sea-side, or at times vacate the tenement which some dear one has 221 just left for ever. These people do no more. No Toda is so persistently migratory as thousands of our own countrymen are.

361 From what is here written it will be understood why the 621 Nilagiris may have upwards of one hundred Mandas on its 342 surface, yet not more than forty of the number be actually occupied.

I have ascertained, in the course of a careful census of eleven Toda Mandas—the detailed results of which will be found tabulated in Chapter X.—that they contain from two to three dwelling-houses or huts, whose general appearance is 342 depicted on the frontispiece. Most of these houses consist of only one room or cabin, but many are formed by the juncture of two, and sometimes even of three rooms in a line; each with its own door leading direct into the external air and unconnected with one another. The Toda name for a room and for a house is the same.

542 The rooms, though all of the exact same shape, vary somewhat in size; from five to six cubits square in area, and from five to six cubits high. Thus, a house of two rooms would be about 8 ft. by 16 ft.; and a house of three rooms would measure some 8 ft. by 24 ft.

342 Each room holds one entire subdivision of a family.

The roofs of all houses are thatched with grass and

THE MAND. *The roofs of 61*
all houses are thatched with grass and
 bamboo, fastened with split rattan, and are either constructed in curved outline like the tilt of a waggon, or brought to an angle at the top, with a wooden ridge-pole, similar to the form of construction met with in more civilised life. The first method of roofing—which is peculiar, not being found amongst any of the surrounding tribes—is that universally employed amongst the well-to-do. The latter, which, is probably cheaper, and certainly more simple to make, but endures less the violence of storms, is ordinarily adopted by poor people, and for houses of a temporary nature requiring to be erected in a hurry.

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The two end walls, which are invariably gabled, are made of very stout planking: and where the house consists of more than one room, the partition wall is of the exact same construction as the outer walls. The side walls, in the tilt-waggon houses, are formed by carrying the roof down to the ground, in which the ends of the curved bamboo rafters are all imbedded. At the line of junction with the earth, flat stones are used in order to throw the water off from the domicile. All the interstices and holes in the planking are carefully filled in with clay, mixed with cow-dung.

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The doorway, presenting the appearance of a ship's port-hole, and about two cubits high: by one and a half cubits broad, is to be found in the middle of the gable wall, when there is only one room to the house: if there are two or three rooms, the second and third doors will be found in the sides, so arranged that all the doors may be to leeward; usually the south or south-east. These doorways, which are closed at night with a flat stone or solid slab of wood, kept in place by a stick thrust vertically into the floor at either side of the opening, form the only passage for the household, and for light, smoke, and air.

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The roof projects two cubits beyond the gable walls; thus forming a pleasant open verandah facing the morning sun, and sheltered from the wind. Here the primitive family sit,

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air themselves, and perform various offices of a domestic and social (entomological) nature.

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The people have been at much pains to exclude every particle of external air from their dwellings: and were it not for cracks, caused by the contraction of the material of which they are constructed, their rooms might have been rendered quite uninhabitable. As primitive folk, living in an elevated climate, have far more to fear from cold than from heat, these 'beehives' are, on the whole, well adapted for comfort and for the preservation of infant life.

I think that when these houses were originally built, they were designed with one room only. I judge so, partly from the Toda name for a house and for a room being identical, and in part from the symmetrical arrangement of the door and verandah; also, from noticing that the second and third doors at the side, appear like an after-thought, out of keeping with the original design, and holding awkward positions in a house whose roof is continuous to the ground. I deduce from these appearances that their numbers have increased since they first established themselves where we now find them.

It may be interesting to my readers to be able to form an idea of the mode in which the very small area of a savage's house is utilised for cooking, eating, and sleeping purposes.

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Be it remembered that the room is 8 ft. long, 8 ft. broad, and 8 ft. high; and that, as Chapter X. shows us, as many as eight people board and lodge in this diminutive space. The plan (No. 11) which, without any deviation, is that of every Toda dwelling, shows the mode in which room is economised. Against the walls, at a convenient height over both store and fire-place, slips of split cane are fastened vertically, so as to form alings; into which firewood is neatly inserted, and in which it rapidly dries. The women are careful to keep a supply of dry wood in this manner: hence they are able to cook without making much smoke, using as they do, with a skill that seems to be the common property of all the natives of India, *only one or two little sticks at a time.*

of India, only one or two little sticks at a time. The correctness of this observation¹ is corroborated by the striking freedom of adults and children from eye-complaints.

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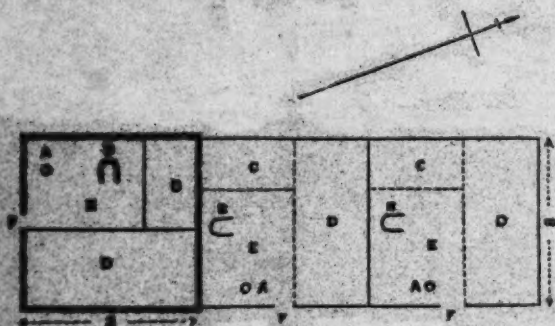
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A. The pestle and mortar—Kudi.

B. The fire-place—Vorsh, or Vorshkall.

C. The store or space, measuring $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft., in which brass cups and plates, bamboo milk-pails—Honnu—are placed.

No. 11.



TODA HOUSE.

D. Raised bed of clay, measuring 8 ft. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft., for the elders.

E. Vacant space on the floor, 5 ft. by 3 ft., where the family eat, and where the juniors sleep.

F. The door.

Nearly every Mand, and in some instances each house, is surrounded, at the distance of three or four paces, by a low enclosure wall—Tnar¹—built neatly but without cement. This wall, which in all cases bears the appearance of age, is so low (about 3 ft. high) as to preclude the possibility of its having

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¹ Tnar, Tñel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Dravidian dialects *r* and *l* are interchangeable. Thus Shri becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

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TABLE No. III. *Census.*

MANDS		HOUSES					INHABITANTS										PARTICULARS REGARDING INHABITANTS	REMARKS M = Mands I = Inhabitants	
Toda Names	Badaga Names	Dwelling Rooms	Dwelling Houses	Sacred Houses	Deserted Houses	Total of Houses	Male					Female							Grand Total
							Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total			
Diljavanu	Karikall	3	3	2	1	6	—	3	3 ¹	4	10	1 ¹	2	—	6 ³	9	29	1. Two younger brothers of the married men. One dairyman aged 18 years. 2. Mother of one of the married men and of the dairymen. 3. Two of 12 years of age. 1, 2. One man and one woman, lately married: hence the small number of children.	M. Well sheltered and drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Kakhodi	Kakhodi	2	2	1	1	4	—	3 ¹	—	2	5	—	2 ¹	—	—	2	7	1. Tolerably hale, but not vigorous. Very poor. M. Well sheltered, but imperfectly drained. Doors face north.	M. Not well sheltered or drained. Doors face west. I. Hale, and fairly vigorous. Very poor.
Beresthro	Karrathro	2	1	1	—	2	—	4 ¹	—	3	7	—	4 ¹	—	1	5	13	1, 2. One father, one mother, two sons, two wives of sons, one daughter, and one husband of daughter. Two of these pairs having lately married, the number of children is small. 1. Two dairymen. 2. One aunt and two nieces. 3. A cripple from birth, aged 20 years. 4. Aged 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south. I. Healthy, and fairly vigorous. One cripple from birth.
Konna-korai	Konna-korrai	3	2	2	—	3	—	4	3 ¹	3	10	—	4 ¹	1 ¹	1 ¹	6	16	1. About 85 years. Admitted to this Mand through kindness, having lost his own children and quarrelled with his grandchildren. 2. Aged 16 years. 3. Two are dairymen. 4. About 75 years of age. 5. One in	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Hale and vigorous. Very comfortable. An old man nearly deaf. An infant
Elgodu	Elgodu	4	3	1	1	5	1 ¹	4 ¹	4 ¹	3	12	1 ¹	4 ¹	—	6 ¹	17	23		

Bingda	Bingda	4	2	1	—	3	2 ¹	4	2 ²	6	14	2 ²	4	—	4 ²	10	24	1. Both brothers of one of the married men. 2. One aged 22, engaged to be married. One aged 16, a dairyman. 3. One mother of one of the married men. One mother of two of the married women. 4. Two about 12 years of age. One sister to one of the married men.	with disease of the skin. A woman in childbed.
Karak	Kandal	5	3	2	—	5	—	10	6	4	20	—	10	—	2	12	32	One father, one mother, one married son, one son a dairyman. One father, one mother, one married daughter. Three married sisters. Three women lately married. One woman barren. Three with small families.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east.
Mansadd	Mardini	3	3	1	1	5	1 ¹	6 ²	1 ²	3	12	2 ²	6	—	4	12	23	1. Son of one widow. 2. Four sons of same widow, and two grandsons. 3. Son of same widow, a dairyman. 4. The second widow is mother-in-law of widower; also mother-in-law of one of the grandsons. One a child-marriage.	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face east and south-west.
Kekkir	Kekheri	3	2	1	—	3	—	6 ¹	1 ²	5	12	—	6 ²	—	3	9	22	2. Two are sons of one married woman. One is a son of another married woman. Two are boys, aged 12 and 15. 2. A dairyman, 24 years of age. 3. Two are daughters of one married woman. One is a daughter of another married woman. Two child-marriages.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east.
Kiraho	Kundetro	2	1	1	—	2	—	2	1 ²	2	5	1 ²	2	—	1 ²	4	9	1. A dairyman, 15 years of age. 2. Mother of one married woman and of one married man. 3. One aged 12 years.	1. Healthy and fairly vigorous. A woman blind of one eye from an accident.
Mektank	Manchukill	4	3	1	—	4	2 ¹	1	2 ²	1	6	—	3 ²	—	1 ²	4	10	1. Father of girl of 14. 2. Dairyman aged 15. 3. One is mother of one of the other married women. 4. Aged nearly 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south-east.
		35	25	23	4	42	5	49	22	36	112	7	47	1	29	84	196		1. Healthy and vigorous, except one man. Comfortable.

2: Marshall C-5 (1870) 1873
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6. We find there to be 49 undoubtedly married men, and 47 married women.

If this ratio was strictly true, I should be in a position to announce that the practice of polyandry had become extinct. But if to these 49 men, we add the 12 who are married *de facto*, we get 61 husbands for the 47 wives, or the proportion of 100:77. Such, in my belief, is the existing state of polyandry in the tribe—formerly, the discrepancy was perhaps as much as 100:40.

7. The total of the Table gives a return of 196 people; from whom, if we deduct the 10 dairymen who live apart, we find that 186 people, of both sexes and all ages, live in 35 rooms, the dimensions of which we know to be 8ft. by 8ft. each; or 5.3 persons, on an average, in each of such rooms. Such is the average domiciliary condition of the tribe. But in village Ménmadd, 23 are shown to be living in 3 rooms, or 8 in some rooms.

If such be the custom of the people when in a state of health, we can scarcely form a conception of their miserable plight when epidemics arise: but we can at once comprehend how fatal any form of contagious disease is too sure to become, if it obtains a footing in the homesteads of any primitive race. Let this essential condition of savage life make a deep impression on our minds, if we would realise any one of the numerous forms of suffering, hardship, or disaster, to which our forefathers must all, from time to time, have been exposed. Rapidly as intelligence spreads amongst civilised nations in these modern days, through the quick interchange of ideas; we may feel very confident, that in the retirement of mountains, swamps, and jungles, at an era when all mankind was young and inexperienced; isolated tribes each gaining their separate knowledge through means of the repeated hard knocks to which their own ignorance of the working of natural laws had rendered them liable, must have undergone the severest trials.

A perusal of the column in Table No. 3, which affords
[See pp 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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102 CENSUS. *A perusal of*
 the column in Table No. 8² which affords
 particulars regarding the inhabitants, will give a curious
 insight of the social economy of the Mand. It may be
 viewed as a house occupied by one family; in each room of
 which a subdivision of the family lives. If we look closely
 into the details of—for instance—villages Diliávenu and
 Koana-koar, we find in the former, 3 rooms in which live 5
 adult men, 3 adult women, 2 girls twelve years of age, besides
 8 other children of both sexes. In the latter village are 3
 rooms containing 6 adult men, 5 adult women, one of whom is
 unmarried, 1 girl of fourteen years, with 3 small boys.

The people do not set apart a room as bachelor-hall, as
 some equally rude tribes do; the Kóls for instance.

161 I find in a statistical Report of the Nilagiris,⁴ submitted
 162 in the year 1847 to the Government of that day, that the
 127 Todas were then estimated at only 337 people. Owing, perhaps,
 to the low figure at which the number is fixed; partly also to
 the existence of certain mistakes, which have of late been dis-
 covered in the names and positions assigned to certain villages,
 an impression exists that the data are not to be entirely
 relied upon. But the record, given as found in the carefully
 compiled Report, is, I believe, not very incorrect. No census
 having been published since 1847, I am indebted to the
 kindness of the late Commissioner of the Nilagiris,⁵ for the
 most reliable statement of the number of the Todas, extant.
 Mr. Breeks believes that in the year 1867 they amounted
 to 455 males and 249 females, of all ages; giving a total of
 704 souls.

162 6. Referring to the Census Table of 11 villages of various
 621 sizes; it appears that there are 112 males + 84 females = 196
 souls in those Mand, or 17.82 as the average number in
 each. Of these 112 males, 49 + 22 = 71 are in the prime of
 life.

⁴ Captain J. Ouchterlony, Madras Engineers, 'Statistical Report of the
 Nigherry Hills. 1847.'

⁵ Mr. J. Breeks.

1 [See pp. 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TIRIËRI.¹

A Tiriëri Mand described—Names of Tiriëri—We visit the Tiriëri and see the Bell-gods—The holy Domain—The Priests are away—Who erected these upright Stones?—The Priests return—A Bargain struck—'Gods of our Fathers'—'These be your Gods'!!

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343 A tiriëri Mand, which is the residence of the pâlâl and
344 kâvilâl, consists of two houses; the one a dairy or pâlthchi,
342 in which the pâlâl lives and makes his nei, the other a house
for the kâvilâl and his implements for cutting fuel. The two
houses are a little apart, and separated by the tûars which
surround them. A cattle pen, also encompassed by its wall
or hedge, occupies a position close by. The site is in-
variably a spot secluded by natural advantages from contact
with the outer world, and having the usual adjuncts of water,
grazing and wood land.

There are at the present time, five tiriëris belonging to the
tribe—there have been more—whose names are as follows;—

Pûrth

Kudar

Mâr

Markush

Puzhash.

361 And exactly in the same manner as I have explained in
621 Chapter VI. that ordinary Mand's have their duplicates and
221 even triplicates, so these tiriëri Mand's have also their corre-
sponding sites to which the little colonies move at certain
seasons, for the sake of fresh pasturage.

¹ The derivation of the word has been given in note 3 of Chapter XIII,
on the Bell-gods.

THE ÉTUD MAND.

155

When the pâlthchi belongs to an étud Mand, the relics within are Dér. And the pâlkarpâl being only a humble servant, does not presume to mention the names of these Gods, as the deified pâlâl in *his* dairy, may with the greatest propriety do. But in pouring a few drops of milk, three times on each relic, he merely mutters nin arzbini, nin arzbini, nin arzbini I adore thee, I adore thee, I adore thee.

CHAP.
XVII.

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Mr. Metz tells me that in certain cases an additional servant, the tarvâl,^a would sometimes be employed. His exact occupation is not understood.

Evidently there are dairies and dairies. There is the pâlthch of the unimportant village which is merely a dairy, in charge perhaps of a stripling. Such a one I have entered, and will describe. There is the dairy which is manifestly something more; that belonging to an étud Mand. And there is the most sacred dairy of all; that which appertains to the tiriéri; the holy of holies, already described.

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In all cases, whether the charge be big or small, the servants of the sacred house, are by virtue of their office, treated with respect by the people; they are spoken of in an undertone and in a reserved manner: they are saluted: neither they nor their implements may be touched.

I had made several unsuccessful efforts to penetrate the dairy of an étud Mand, but was always discovered when seemingly on the eve of success. Taking advantage therefore of a fog I paid a visit to the pâlthchi of an ordinary Mand, which I had observed, not to be much watched, and to which a wood afforded means of secret approach. The pâlkarpâl was fortunately absent, so crawling in, I could observe at leisure. The outer room was fitted up in every way as an ordinary dwelling, suited to the simple requirements of a bachelor of the olden time; an axe for cutting wood was

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^a Tarvâl. In Tamil we have taravu - *the order of a master or superior*. The forms, tara, taru in all Dravidian dialects, have kindred ideas. [POPE.]

CHAP.
XVII.

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lying in a corner, and the man's bed was on one side of the door. The door in the wooden partition wall which led to the inner room or dairy proper, was of unusually small dimensions—about a cubit high, by half a cubit broad—and blocked up with a slab of stone. This I removed, and after penetrating the dairy, closed it behind me.

I now struck a light and leisurely examined everything in roof, and on floor. The inventory was of most simple detail; viz., the usual fireplace of three small stones—one at back, and one at each side—an earthenware vessel or two, and a few honnus for holding milk. No bell, no relic, nor lights, nor niche in wall. Only a large pair of buffalo horns, made with unusual care, of bamboo bound with cane, which I found thrust into the thatch: and several smaller horns made from twigs; all of which will be found represented in photograph No. 15. Without doubt there were no stones for any other purposes than those described.

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It has puzzled me much to discover, in what way, étud Mand should be, as the meaning implies, 'great' Mand, and why their dairies should be held in more reverence, and be guarded with more care than those of ordinary villages. In a general way, they appear to be somewhat larger than usual. One can see that their droves of cattle are of more than common size. And so the impression left after a visit, is that there is something of the cathedral about the spot. These are, however, signs that such dairies are great, but do not afford the reason why they are so. And there was no one to explain. The people themselves had probably never thought of a reason; they had been satisfied with the knowledge which had grown with their growth, that it was an étud Mand. I will now give the result of my own enquiries and speculations.

A certain number of dairies are said by the Todas to contain a kurpu* or relic of an ancestor; a ring for instance, a hatchet

* Kurpu. Dravidian. Tamil has kuri—*indicate, point out*. Kurippu

8

THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES OF THE NILAGIRIS.

621 They live in villages called *mands** (Plates VIII., IX.), of which the following
 361 description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

of life. "A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda
 342 tribe. Each *mund* or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three
 " of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the
 " calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped
 " construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or
 " doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is
 " not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid
 " slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to
 " entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so
 " arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the
 " height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other
 " openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress
 " and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that,
 323 " to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling
 " is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance,
 " and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with
 " thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before
 " and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the
 " pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains
 " the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is
 " sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort.
 513 " On one side there is a raised platform or *pial* formed of clay, about 2 feet high,
 " and covered with *sambre* or *buffaloe* skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform
 354 " is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation
 352 " on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of
 415 " firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops
 " of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by
 " a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use.
 " The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo
 " measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two
 " empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.
 351 " Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose
 " stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 18 x 10
 " feet."

621 The inhabitants of a *mand* are generally related to one another, and consider
 234 themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three *mands*
 in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes.
 Each *mand* has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

* Derived from *Mand*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Moti* or *Motti*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Mand*.

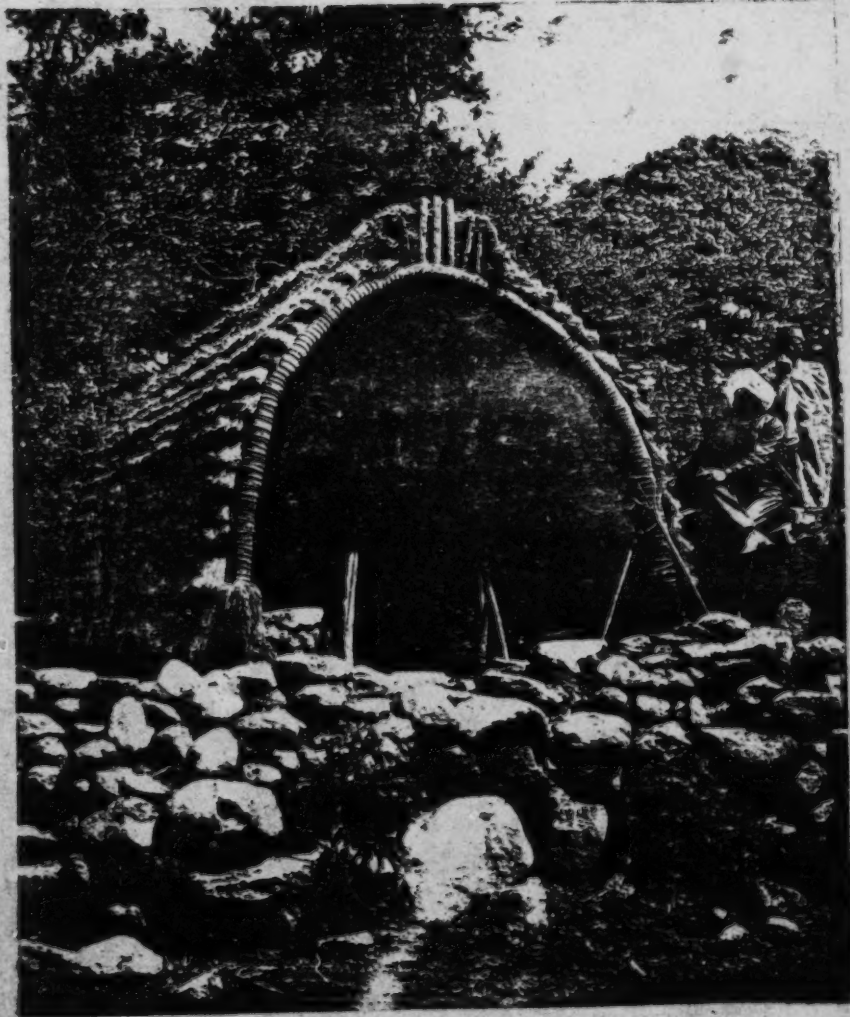
3: Brecks

G-5

(no date) 1873

Toda

PLATE IX.



TODA HUT. PAIKARA TIRIARI.

- 342 The dwelling of the Toda, though in no way very remarkable, differs, nevertheless, from that of any other uncivilised people that I have met with. The walls are made of roughly planed boards joined with clay; the sides are not more than three feet high, by about twelve feet long, and the ends are gables about eight feet high, having slightly rounded points. The roof is made [137] of reeds, and thatched with lemon-grass, a tall and very strong plant attaining a height of six to eight feet, having a strong perfume of lemon, and growing luxuriantly on the hills.
- [354] The whole structure is very substantially and neatly built, but there is no chimney, and the smoke from the fires pours out at the door and exudes from every crevice. The entrance is an opening just sufficient to admit a full-grown person on hands and knees, and is made to close from within. There is in front of the dwellings, partly enclosed by a low wall of loose stones, an open grassy space or court, which, owing to the nomadic habits of the 351 Todas, is always of a fresh green. The huts are built close together on some naturally smooth knoll in clusters of three or four 621 only, and not in villages; these family groups are called *munds*.
- 343 There is always one hut set apart for the reception of milk, and this is placed a little to one side of the other huts, which in construction it precisely resembles. It is entirely surrounded by a 462 low wall, within which no females are permitted to enter on any account, nor are they allowed even to milk the buffaloes; a custom or rule which I have found existing also among the Kaffirs of South Africa.
- 621 The *munds* are situated at considerable distances apart, and 22/ their inhabitants migrate periodically from one to another for 242 change of pasture. During the dry season—that is, from the beginning of January to the end of April—they are in the habit of setting fire to the grass, with a view to promoting its better growth; another Kaffir custom, and one, moreover, the beautiful effect of which at night will be remembered by all who have ever seen it on so large a scale.
- 22/ Before leaving, the Todas close the entrances to their dwellings, 621 but take no further care regarding them. I found several times in the course of the three years that I spent on these hills, various *munds* suddenly deserted, and again, after an interval of some two or three months, as suddenly reoccupied. As there was nothing to prevent any curious person from entering these empty huts.

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60



TODA HUT.

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[facing p. 127]

admission to a Toda dairy, but actually driven away by some boys, who rushed out of it when they heard him approach. It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "several kinds of wood are used for the fire-sticks, the Toda names of these being kiaz or keadj (*Litsæ Wightiana*), mōrs (*Michelia Nilagirica*), parskuti (*Elæagnus latifolia*), and main (*Cinnamomum Wightii*)." He states further that, "whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose, the fire-sticks must be of the wood which the Todas call kiaz or keadj, except in the tesherot ceremony (qualifying ceremony for the office of palol) in which the wood of muli is used. At the niroditi ceremony (ordination ceremony of a dairyman), "the assistant makes fire by friction, and lights a fire of muli wood, at which the candidate warms himself." It is also recorded by Dr. Rivers that "in some Toda villages, a stone is kept, called tutmōkal, which was used at one time for making fire by striking it with a piece of iron."

The abode of the Todas is called a mad or mand (village or hamlet), which is composed of huts, dairy temple, and cattle-pen, and has been so well described by Dr. Shortt,* that I cannot do better than quote his account. "Each mand," he says, "usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the calves at night. These huts form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped [half-barrel-shaped] construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or doorway measures 32 inches in height and 18 inches in width, and is not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick,

* Op. cit.

TODA

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342 and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the height of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke, or for the free ingress and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance is effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboos closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing, which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about two feet high, and covered with sambar (deer) or buffalo skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fire place, and a slight elevation, on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building, faggots of firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by a hole dug in the ground, 7 to 9 inches deep, and hardened by constant use. The other household goods consist of three or four brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and sometimes a hatchet. Each hut or dwelling is surrounded

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TODA

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fireplace. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, somewhat like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by women. Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are specially important. One, the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

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Toda culture thirty-five years after

115 799

The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are tōunor without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the ti-. There may also be munda without dairies, and these are not tōunor. Some munda also which have dairies are not tōunor. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a tōunor became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairyman-priest may not be ordained for them but must be ordained for one of the tōunor of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as maxmoḡ, as opposed to the tōunor, which are utumḡmoḡ "important or chief mund." In each case a tōunor is said to have been founded in the beginning by the tōuḡut associated with the sib, a maxmoḡ to have been a human creation.

When a tōunor is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the tōunor who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a tōunor when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may be kept at any of them in turn.

When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling delty," he referred to the tōuḡut. The Toda phrase which he gave, nōdrochī, i. e. nōroḡol-, means "(the delty, i. e. the tōuḡut) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (utumḡmoḡ or tōunor) was created, as we have said, by a tōuḡut who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning.

133 feet high range of peaks that constitutes the culminating point reached from north to south by the Western Ghats, is visible in clear weather through a distinctly blue haze.

133 From the capital of the district, Ootacamund ("One-Stone House" 648 in Tamil, shortened to *Ooty* by British residents), seat of the Government Administrator called the Collector, asphalted motor roads lead out [491] in all directions over the grass-covered downs, which are interspaced [137] here and there in the shallow parts with *sholas* or woods of short trees and bushes. The scenery is very beautiful, and the climate is excellent.

Europeans from Madras city and from elsewhere, ever since the beginning of the 18th century, have made use of the station, the highest in India, from which to escape the insalubrious damp heat of the lowlands.

101 It is here on this green plateau that the Todas live. In their own language, they call themselves *Olkh*,¹ "men", their other name by which all outsiders know them, Toda, being from the Badaga language, *Toda-mia*, "chief". Their houses, *arsh*, which are of a particular kind,

• 342 made of slit bamboo and planks and thatched, in the shape of Nissen huts, have no chimney and no windows worth mentioning, while the door is barely two feet high, obliging those who enter through it to crawl in on all fours. These dwellings are grouped in small numbers, never more than four or five at a time, forming *munds* (in Toda *mad*), 361 and are scattered all over the hills, near *sholas*, and often very far 621 away from each other. This spread appearance is apt to be deceptive to begin with, as it would seem that each "village" is practically independent, and leads a life of its own. Actually this is not the case, since, regardless of the distance which separates various *munds* from each other (often twenty miles and more), tribal divisions make it perfectly clear which hamlets belong together and which do not.

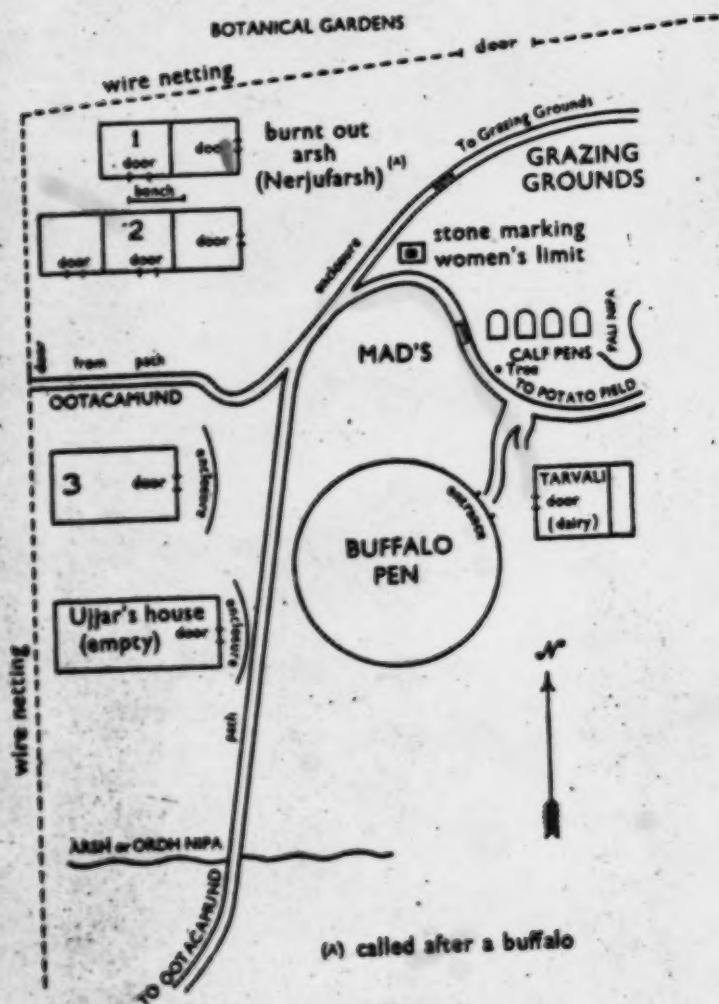
141 The people have a fine physical appearance. They are, on an average, generally taller than most Indians, the tallest Toda being something 000 like six foot six. The men are profusely bearded, and wear their hair

104 ¹ Romanization of Toda here will be in accordance with the following personal transcription:

a = hat	ee = meet	ai = bite	l = lot	s = soon	v = vat
a = hut	f = fun	j = French	m = me	l = tap	w = won
b = beat	g = gone	dj = job	n = no	th = Greek	y = yoke
d = do	gh = Greek	sh = she	o = hot	theta	z = zero
dh = Greek	gamma	tch = chap	ō = word	u = blue	δ = simply
delta	ng = ring	k = kit	oi = hoy	ō = cook	ionic
e = met	h = aspirate	kh = Greek	p = pot	oo = moon	
ci = date	i = hit	chi	r = rot	ū = French	

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

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(A) called after a buffalo

Fig. 18. Plan of the Malgash mad.

[Melgarsh Village]

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THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELOARSH

361 From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be
 • 342 seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered
 621 respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the
 [104] Warthuttiarsh, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more
 bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a Warthut-
 tiarsh); No. 2, the Nortzarsh, or Middle House; No. 3, the Pudharsh,
 or New House; these two last houses are also known as Pardzilarsh or
 Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the Warthuttiarsh.

342 In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with
 513 indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

592 Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmikh* when I was at Mel-
 [793] garsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for
 in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was sur-
 prising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and
 not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me
 that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on
 the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally
 astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the com-
 ing generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their
 common wife.

434 The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus
 464 apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the
 511 capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the
 following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Oota-
 camund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36
 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on
 the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various
 Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry
 Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food
 from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Fufvkiaroz: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p.290]

[Melgarsh Village]

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

287

FRONT SECTION

Firewood hanging here inside

REAR SECTION

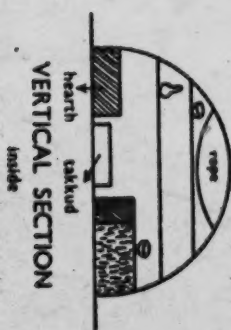
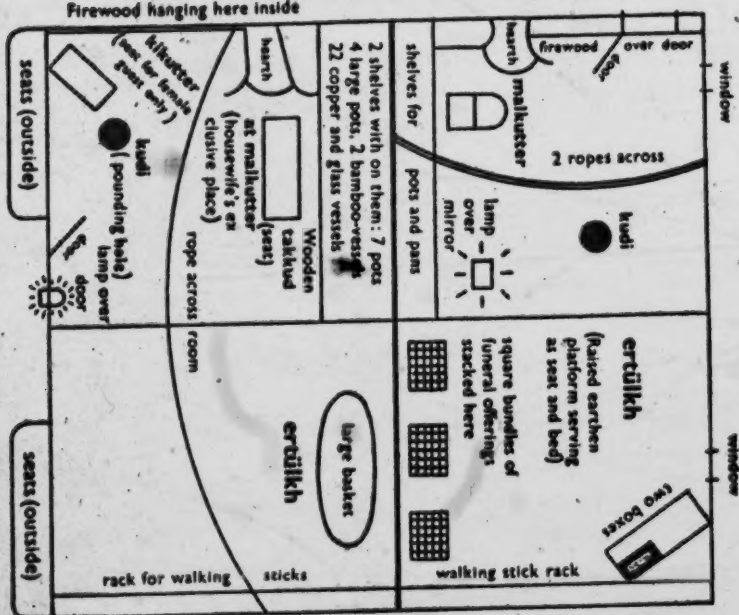


Fig. 19. House No. 1, the Werthuttlarsh.

Inhabitants of front part: Karnoz, Nalsirwuf, Sodup and Odzel; the last named sleeps on the floor, the other three on the ertulikh.

Inhabitants of the rear part: Singharsh, Amoniuf, Singud and Munbokwutn; the last named sleeps on the ertulikh with either of the brothers, while the other alternatively sleeps on the floor with the common wife.

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[Melgarsh Village]

288

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

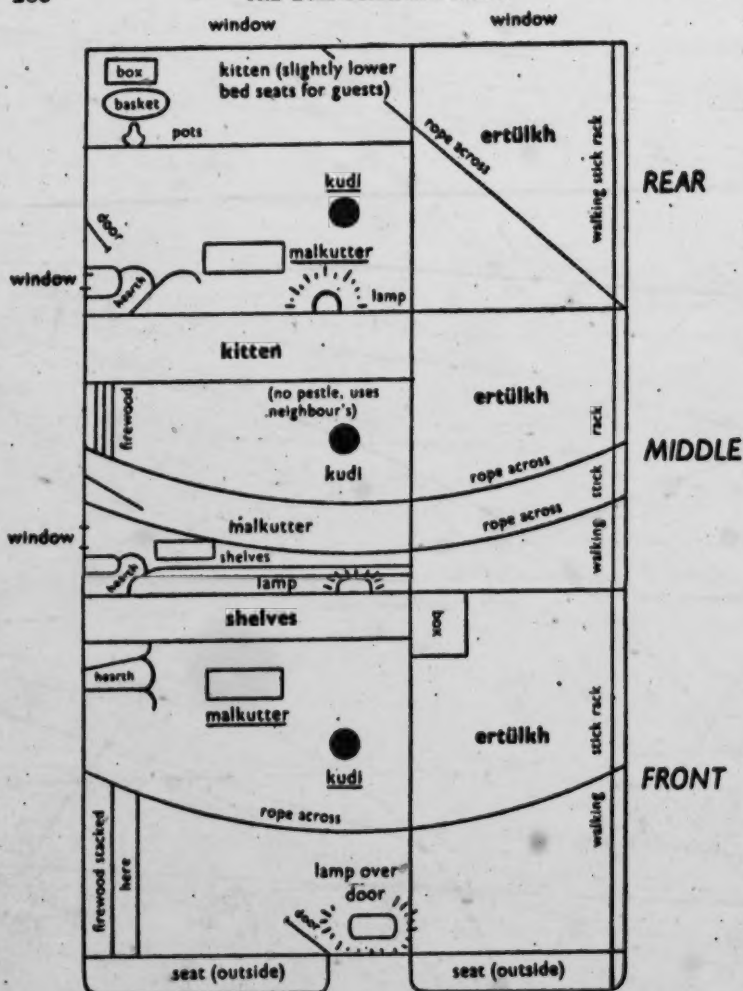


Fig. 20. House No. 2, the Nortzarsh.

Inhabitants in the front part: Padz, Silidz, Narjikh, and Pengelam; the two children sleep at the feet of their grandparents, who have their heads nearest the door; guests are accommodated on the *ertülkh*, while the inhabitants sleep on the floor.

Inhabitants in the middle part: Puvkiazox and Mutmal; they sleep together on the *ertülkh*; guests are accommodated on the *kitten*.

Inhabitants of the rear part: Mutnarah, Erzizwuf, Kupidz and Sodam; the newborn twins were also put up here with their mother; the father sleeps with the little girl on the *kitten*, the two women sleep on the *ertülkh*, one at each end.

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[574]

[Melqarsh Village]

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

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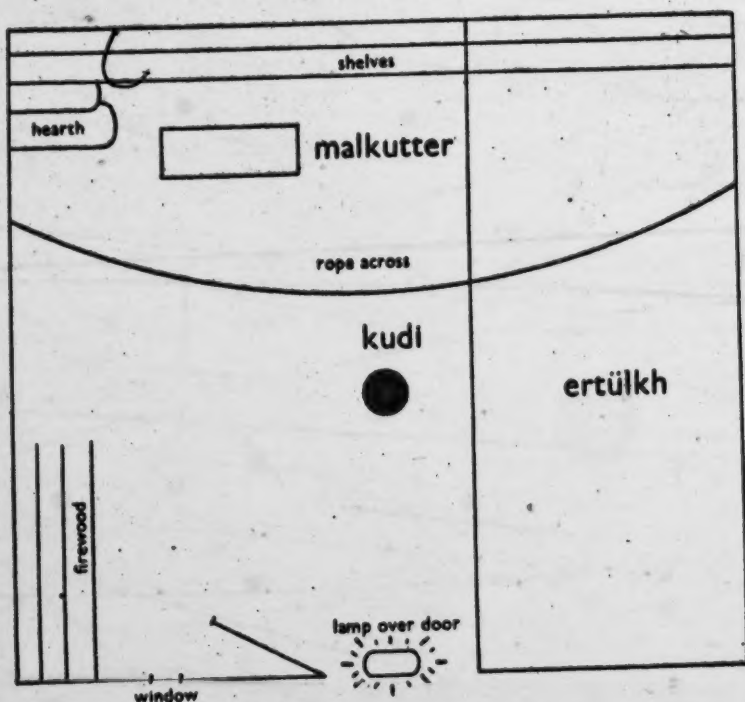


Fig. 21. House No. 3, the Pudharsh.

Inhabitants: Pikhilvowutn, Närshmal, Motsod, Izam and Kirsharswutn; the two first of these sleep on the *ertülkh*, the older couple on the floor, the younger boy sleeps on the *ertülkh* too, with his head towards the back of the arsh. Motsod is very often out, either as priest-dairyman, when he sleeps in the tarvalli, or to see friends in other mads. Kirsharswutn often helps his father in the tarvalli, when he also sleeps in the dairy-temple.

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Fig. 22. A typical Toda mad in the Nilgiris: Karsh, near Ootacamund.

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[793] Fig. 23. The sarvalli of Melgarsh: Motsod, the sarvalikartmogh in his black tuni at the door.

[P 300-A]

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
 771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
 1793 priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
 1234 tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
 1552 priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

234 The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
 778 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the
 especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and
 the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber
 which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary
 people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so funda-
 mental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churn-
 ing, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right
 to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters
 is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
 272 in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
 1352 sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with
 it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that,
 just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the
 model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a
 territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls
 "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-
 851 celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of
 the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the
tali-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a
 public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
 183 are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
 1583 polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
 1575 lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be
 uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
 1611 Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
 114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the
 sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been
 useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda
 show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards
 his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can